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Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ARA-16 ISO-00 FEA-02 AGR-20 CEA-02 CIAE-00

COME-00 DODE-00 EB-11 FRB-02 H-03 INR-10 INT-08 L-03

LAB-06 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 AID-20 CIEP-02

SS-20 STR-08 TAR-02 TRSE-00 USIA-15 PRS-01 SP-03

OMB-01 SWF-02 DLOS-07 SCI-06 DRC-01 /198 W
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P R 071921Z JUN 74
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1996
INFO USMISSION USUN N Y

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MEXICO 4677

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MX, UN
SUBJECT: NON-ALIGNED ACTIVITIES IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

REF: STATE 99106; STATE 104050

1. SUMMARY: MEXICO PRIDES ITSELF IN BEING AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF GROUP OF 77 (G-77) AND WAS AMONG LATIN AMERICAN OBSERVERS AT ALGIERS NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE. THERE IS CONSCIOUS IDENTIFICATION AS AN LDC, AND IT WOULD BE POLITICAL ANATHEMA FOR GOM TO COUNTER PERCEIVED INTERESTS OF THAT BLOC IN ANY CONSISTENT FASHION.

2. MORE SPECIFICALLY, MEXICAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS LDC TACTICS EMPLOYED IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IS TO A LARGE EXTENT CONTROLLED BY TWO CURRENT PHENOMENA: (A) GOM COMMITMENT TO ADOPTION OF A "CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES" AND (B) CLOSELY RELATED "THIRD WORLD" LEADERSHIP ASPIRATIONS OF PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA. MEXICAN OFFICIALS SEEMINGLY ARE SATISFIED THAT THEY THUS FAR HAVE BEEN ABLE TO REACH ACCEPTABLE
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COMPROMISES AND PROTECT MEXICAN VITAL INTERESTS WHILE

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SOMETIMES PLACING THEMSELVES IN THE VANGUARD RE G-77 (AND, WHERE CONSONANT, NACG) POSITIONS. HOWEVER, THERE IS AN ELEMENT OF REALISM IN THE GOM'S APPROACH TO INTER-NATIONAL DELIBERATIONS. AS TIME MAKES EVIDENT THE HOLLOW QUALITY OF MEASURES "RAILROADED" OVER THE OBJECTION OF DC'S, MEXICO PROBABLY WILL MODERATE HER POSITION. END SUMMARY.

3. WHEN PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA PROPOSED HIS "CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES" AT UNCTAD III, IT WAS AS A RATHER NEBULOUS CONCEPT OF HOW TO REDRESS PERCEIVED GLOBAL ECONOMIC IMBALANCES AND INJUSTICES. SINCE THAT TIME, AND AS INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ACTION HAS GIVEN FORM TO THIS IDEA, THE CHARTER HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED (AT LEAST IN THE MEXICAN CONTEXT) INTO A VEHICLE FOR FURTHERING THE PERSONAL AMBITIONS AND INTERNATIONAL (SEE MEXICO 3144 RE HIS INTEREST IN THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.) POLITICAL PRESTIGE OF PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA. / LIKEWISE, DURING THE FLESHING-OUT PROCESS THE GOM HAS BECOME MORE ADAMANT CONCERNING DIMENSIONS OF THE TARGETED WORLD PROBLEMS (I.E. MALDISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC BENEFITS AS A RESULT OF DC EXPLOITATION OF THE LDC'S) AND OF THE EFFICACY OF THE CHARTER IN SOLVING THOSE ILLS. PASSAGE OF THE ECHEVERRIA CHARTER HAS BECOME SO IMPORTANT IN THE EYES OF THE GOM THAT ALMOST ALL OTHER MULTILATERAL INTERESTS (AND SOME BILATERAL ONES AS WELL) HAVE BEEN SUBORDINATED TO THE OBJECTIVE OF GAINING SUPPORT THEREFOR. INDEED, FORM SEEMS TO HAVE BECOME MORE IMPORTANT THAN SUBSTANCE IN SOME RESPECTS.

4. CONSEQUENTLY, IT IS HARDLY SUPRISING THAT GOM LOOKS TO LDC'S FOR BASIC SUPPORT IN ITS CHARTER EFFORTS. IT IS HARD TO CONCEIVE OF ANY GOM POSITION WHICH WOULD ALIENATE THESE NATURAL ALLIES. NEVERTHELESS, GOM EFFORTS TO CURRY FAVOR AMONG LDC'S CONTINUE UNDIMINISHED. FONSEC RABASA'S RECENT COMMENTS TO THE AMBASSAYVJ ON GOM-THIRD WORLD RELATIONS POINT UP THIS EFFORT. (SEE MEXICO 4611.)

5. GOM, FAR FROM BEING SYMPATHETIC TO DC MISGIVINGS CONCERNING AN "AUTOMATIC BLOC", SEES THIS BLOC E - CONFIDENTIAL

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USEFUL WEAPON IN GAINING DC CONCESSIONS. MOREOVER, IF AND WHEN ALL ELSE FAILS, GOM APPEARS WILLING TO SUPPORT USE OF BLOC'S VOTING STRENGTH TO PASS RESOLUTIONS SETTING FORTH UNDILUTED LDC CLAIMS REGARDLESS OF POSSIBILITY OF IMPLEMENTATION.

6. INDICATIVE OF PRESENT MEXICAN INTERESTS AND ACTIONS WAS THE DECISION, ANNOUNCED JUNE 4, TO ESTABLISH A

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RESIDENT MEXICAN EMBASSY IN ALGIERS. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA EARLIER HAD ENDORSED PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENE'S INITIATIVE FOR THE UNGA SPECIAL ASSEMBLY, AND MEXICO WAS A WILLING AND UNCRITICAL PARTICIPANT (INSOFAR AS THE EMBASSY IS AWARE) IN THE QUESTIONABLE TACTICS EMPLOYED THEREIN BY THE NACG/G-77.

7. COUNTERING SUCH TENDENCIES IS A DEGREE OF REALISM EVIDENCED BY MEXICAN POLICY MAKERS. ALTHOUGH A CERTAIN ANTI-US RHETORIC HAS BEEN A HALLMARK OF MOST GOM ADMINISTRATIONS -- SEIZED WITH THE NEED TO MAINTAIN "PROPER DISTANCE" FROM THE GIANT TO THE NORTH, -- WHEN AND IF REAL INTERESTS (E.G. IN THE TRADE AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT FIELDS) ARE AT STAKE THE GOM WILL DRAW BACK FROM TOO-SHARP POSITIONS.

8. THIS "REALISM" WAS EXEMPLIFIED IN A RECENT PRESS INTERVIEW IN WHICH FONSECRETARY RABASA DISCUSSED LOS MATTERS; HE BLUNTLY STATED THAT MEXICO'S PREFERENCE WOULD BE FOR A 200-MILE TERRITORIAL SEA BUT THAT POLITICAL REALITIES DICTATED AN OPTION FOR THE PATRIMONIAL SEA FORMULA(SEE MEXICO A-272 OF JUNE 5, 1974). LIKEWISE, DURING SESSIONS OF THE WORKING GROUP CHARGED WITH DRAFTING THE CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES GOM OFFICIALS, BOTH PRIVATELY AND IN PUBLIC, ACKNOWLEDGED THE NEED TO ACCOMMODATE DC INTERESTS IF A MEANINGFUL CHARTER IS TO EMERGE.

9. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, REAL LIMITS ON HOW FAR THE GOM MIGHT BE PREPARED TO GO IN SUCH ACCOMMODATION. IN THE COURSE OF A MAY 21 CONVERSATION WITH FONSECRETARIAT DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AFFAIRS, SERGIO GONZALEZ GALVEZ, HE TOLD EMBOFFS THAT IF ALL ELSE CONFIDENTIAL

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FAILED, GOM WOULD STAND WITH G-77 COLLEAGUES IN PRESSING FOR VERY STRONG CHARTER RATHER THAN ACCEPTING VITIATED VERSION -- THIS IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT GONZALEZ GALVEZ IS AMONG THE MORE ASTUTE MEXICANS WHO REALIZE THE NECESSITY OF DC SUPPORT IF CHERISHED CHARTER IS TO BE RELEVANT.

10. GONZALEZ GALVEZ, DURING COURSE OF SAME CONVERSATION, ADMITTED THAT THERE MIGHT COME A TIME WHEN AN INHERENT CONFLICT BETWEEN NATIONAL AND G-77 INTERESTS WOULD FORCE A BREAK IN THE RANKS. HOWEVER, THIS HAS NOT YET OCCURRED; TO DATE MEXICO HAS BEEN ABLE TO PROTECT ITS POSITION DURING TOUGH PRELIMINARY WRANGLING WHICH

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MEXICO 4677

LEADS UP TO CONSENSUS POSITIONS DEFENDED BY G-77.
GONZALEZ GALVEZ FURTHER STRESSED THAT ONCE CONSENSUS
REACHED, IT BECOMES ALMOST SACRED; MEXICO WOULD LOATHE
DEFECTION AFTER A COMMON POSITION HAD BEEN WORKED OUT.

11. IN ASSESSING IMPACT OF THE SECRETARY'S INITIATIVE
FOR A NEW DIALOGUE WITH LATIN AMERICANS, WE NOTE THAT
GOM HAS TAKEN CONSISTENTLY POSITIVE STANCE. AT SAME TIME, THIS
ATTITUDE REFLECTS PERSONALIZATION (I.E. CLOSE FRIENDSHIP WHICH
SECRETARY RABASA FEELS FOR THE SECRETARY) AT LEAST AS
MUCH AS A GOM ANALYSIS OF CONTENT OF NEW DIALOGUE.
THIS IS NOT ALL BAD; RABASA'S SUSCEPTIBILITY TO PERSONAL
APPROACHES FROM THE SECRETARY IS, INDEED, PERHAPS
THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS AVAILABLE TO USG FOR INFLUENCING
MEXICO TO TAKE POSITIONS AT VARIANCE WITH "AUTOMATIC
BLOC". AT SAME TIME, AND REFLECTING NEED TO AVOID IMAGE
OF POLITICAL TOADYING, MEXICAN OFFICIALS PUBLICLY
ESCHEW TOO-CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH US INTERESTS. AS
DEPUTY RODOLFO ECHEVERRIA (NEPHEW OF THE PRESIDENT)
STATED BLUNTLY IN A SPEECH AT THE LATEST INTER-
PARLIAMENTARY MEETING, "US FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD NOT

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OVERLOOK SOMETHING ESSENTIAL: GIVEN EXISTING DEGREE OF
WORLD INTERDEPENDENCE, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTRIAVE
A POLICY OF REGIONAL BILATERALISM. IN OTHER WORDS,
ANY POLICY AIMED AT SEPARATING LATIN AMERICAN POLICIES
FROM THOSE OF THE 'THIRD WORLD' WILL FAIL..."

12. FOREGOING POINTS UP FACT THAT, FOR TIME
BEING AT LEAST, GOM PERCEIVES OF ITS INTERNATIONAL
INTERESTS TO BE BEST SERVED PRECISELY BY FOSTERING THE
BLOC ACTION SO DISTURBING TO USG. WHAT MARGINAL INFLUENCE
WE CAN BRING TO BEAR ON MEXICANS SHOULD BE APPLIED FAR
IN ADVANCE OF G-77 NEGOTIATIONS ON A PARTICULAR ITEM.
IN MOST INSTANCES, US INFLUENCE IS TIED TO OUR WILLING-
NESS CONSCIOUSLY TO LINK OUR CONSIDERABLE BILATERAL
INTERESTS TO MEXICAN COOPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.
EMBASSY QUESTIONS THE REAL POSSIBILITIES OR USEFULNESS
OF SUCH TACTICS. IN THE FIRST PLACE, OUR BILATERAL
INTERESTS ARE OF SUCH OBVIOUS MUTUALITY THAT ANY IMPLIED
THREAT (E.G. TRADE RESTRICTIONS) WOULD BE MEANING-
LESS SINCE HARM TO US INTERESTS MIGHT BE EVEN GREATER
THAN THAT TO MEXICO. LIKEWISE, POLITICAL COST OF

ANTAGONIZING GOM WOULD IN ALMOST EVERY INSTANCE CLEARLY
OUT-WEIGH PERCEIVED GAIN -- I.E. A FAVORABLE MEXICAN
POSITION VIS-A-VIS A SINGLE INTERNATIONAL ISSUE.

13. NOTWITHSTANDING SOMEWHAT GLOOMY ANALYSIS ABOVE,
THERE ARE INDIRECT WAYS IN WHICH MEXICAN POSITION MIGHT
BE INFLUENCED. PARADOXICALLY, EXPANSION OF MEXICO'S ROLE
IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS SHOULD RESULT IN AN INCREASED
SENSE OF INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY -- AND THERE ARE
INDICATIONS THAT THIS IS SO. FOR EXAMPLE, DESPITE HIS
PYROTECHNICS AND SOMETIMES UNHELPFUL POSTURING, AMBASSADOR
GARCIA ROBLES' PARTICIPATION IN CCD NEGOTIATIONS IS
GENERALLY RESPONSIBLE. HENCE, ASSUMING AN INCREASED
SENSE OF INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY ON PART OF MEXICANS,
AN APPEAL TO REAL STATESMANSHIP SHOULD HAVE GREATER EFFECT
WITH PASSAGE OF TIME. THIS ESPECIALLY SHOULD BE THE
CASE AFTER FIRST FLUSH OF "AUTOMATIC MAJORITY"
SUCCESSES DEMONSTRABLY ARE SHOWN TO BE PYRRHIC VICTORIES.
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